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Ellis. A Bodleian ms. of Copa,  
Moretum, and other poems of the  
appendix Vergiliana. 1906

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A BODLEIAN MS.

OF  
COPA, MORETUM, AND OTHER  
POEMS OF THE APPENDIX  
VERGILIANA

BY  
ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., HON. LL.D.  
CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN

*Read in the Hall of Corpus Christi College, Feb. 15, 1906*

LONDON  
HENRY FROWDE  
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## A BODLEIAN MS. OF *COPA*, *MORETUM*, AND OTHER PSEUDO-VERGILIAN POEMS

IN the Digby collection of MSS. in the Bodleian is a codex, assigned by Dr. Macray to the fourteenth century, which includes in a great variety of other pieces, all recorded in the above-mentioned catalogue, five of the small poems ascribed to Vergil, *Copa* (fol. 137<sup>v</sup>), *Est et non* (fol. 138<sup>r</sup>), *Vir bonus* (fol. 138<sup>v</sup>), *Rosae* (fol. 139<sup>v</sup>), *Moretum* (fol. 140<sup>r</sup>—142<sup>v</sup>).

The writing of the MS. is tolerably plain and straightforward in the *text* of the poems. But this, though carefully copied from a good source, would not, in itself, be a sufficient reason for calling attention to the MS., since we possess MSS. of all the five poems which can claim a far higher antiquity, notably the *Bembinus*, of the ninth century, in the Vatican and, for *Est et Non*, MS. 36 H. in the archives of the Basilica of St. Peter's<sup>1</sup>. The interest of the Digby codex lies much more in the numerous glosses explaining the meaning of the words. These are sometimes marginal, more frequently interlinear. As might be expected, the writing is small, and, as generally happens with glosses, full of contractions and abbreviations, requiring a constant use of the magnifying glass, and often so much faded as to try the strongest eyes. The glosses are not always in Latin; there are a good many in French and some few in early English. They are abundant in *Copa* and *Rosae*, tolerably

<sup>1</sup> The contents of this MS. are described by O. Iahn, p. cxxxix of his edition of Persius (1843). In it the verses *Est et Non* are headed *Versus Prisciani eloquentissimi de Est et Non*. This ascription to Priscian is also found in *Montpellier* 212; and Iahn concludes that both MSS. were copied from the same original.

full on *Est et Non* and *Moretum*, sparse on *Uir bonus*, the least interesting of the group, and the easiest. Many of them seem traceable to an early source, as they coincide with glosses in the tenth-century MS. Vat. 1577 recently published by the Catanian editor Curcio. This is in *Copa*; for the glosses which the same scholar has edited from Vat. 1574 (cent. xi or xii) on *Moretum* only occasionally agree with those in the Digby MS. and go back to a different origin.

Our MS. may fairly stand as a representative type of medieval commentaries on Latin poems. With much that is right and good it contains not a little that is doubtful or even wrong. But it is not difficult to discriminate the grain from the chaff, as a few samples will be sufficient to show.

Copa 2 *crispum* is glossed *i. nimis mobile. uel crispum dicit propter vestes crispatas et collectas circa latus et renes*. The first of these explanations is right and corresponds with Vat. 1577 where *crispum* is glossed *tremulum*. The second explanation which refers it to the motion of the Copa's robe is far-fetched and improbable.

Copa 6 *bibulo toro*. Digby 100 has *bibulo i. ubi satis biberes uel bibulo i. molli quia mollis culcetra que bibit et absorbet hominem, dura uero repellit. uel bibulo dicit propter arenam que bibula est ubi torus ille sternebatur*. The first of these agrees with Scaliger's interpretation; the second is impossible; the third is recondite and, in my opinion, points to an early source, though undoubtedly wrong.

15 *libata* is glossed *collecta*, and *Achelois filia Acheloy*. Vat. 1577 has this latter gloss in an expanded form *copia filia acheloi*, in which *Copia* is not a mistake for *Copa*, but either a perversion or a more definite version of the story mentioned by the second of Bode's Mythographers (p. 131) that the horn which Hercules broke off from the head of the river-god Achelous was consecrated by him to Fortune, and was afterwards filled with autumnal supplies (*copiis*) by Naiads, the daughters of the river. The mythographer's

words are *Tunc nymphae Naidēs filiae fluminis effecerunt ut id quod ereptum erat autumnalibus copiis repleretur*. On this view *Copia* may have been transferred as a name to one of the daughters of Achelous, and in agreement with this we find Bode's third Mythographer stating that Hercules dedicated to *Copia* the horn which he had broken from Achelous (Bode, p. 248).

18 *cerea pruna*. Both Digb. and Vat. agree in the gloss *cerea matura*; but Digb. adds *uel alba ad modum ceræ*. Vergil has *Addam cerea pruna* Ecl. 2. 53: Conington translates 'yellow plums', and this seems the more accepted explanation.

20 *Est hic munda ceres, est amor, est bromius*. Here the two MSS. are at variance. Vat. 1577 glosses *ceres* by *panis*, Digb. by *seges*. Vat. glosses *amor* by *luxuria* lubricity; Digb. has a twofold gloss, an interlinear *quia amabiles mulieres sunt hic*, a marginal *locus aptus amori*, the latter quite wrong. Vat. glosses *bromius* by *uinum*, Digb. more intelligibly by *deus uini*, adding *hoc dicit quia sine cerere et bacho friget uenus et dicitur bromius a bromin* (the rest of the gloss is so faded as to be doubtfully legible).

This quotation from the *Eunuchus* of Terence (iv. 5. 6) is very felicitous; the verse of *Copa* is indeed only a more poetical way of stating the comic writer's words.

21 *lentis* is glossed by Digb. *flexibilibus*, perhaps rightly, though the word admits of a different meaning, 'sticky' or 'clammy'. Vat. does not explain.

22 *et pendens iunco caeruleus cucumis*. Here Digb. has an interesting gloss. Over *iunco* (which in the MS. is written *iuncto*) is written *i. paruo uimine simili iunc(t)o*. It is clear that the glossator had in his mind a with of some kind attached to the cucumber, and by which it was suspended, not the stalk of the vegetable itself, as the latest editor of the poem supposes.

I am obliged to admit that neither Digb. nor Vat. helps us in the difficult verse *Copa* 25. Both agree in giving *Huc ali(y Vat.)bida ueni, fessus iam* (so Vat., *iam f. Digb.*) *sudat asellus*.

It is usual to print here not *alibida*, but *calybita*, which the *Bembinus*, our best source and of cent. ix, gives. This is not the place to discuss the difficult problem of the meaning of *calybita*: I am only concerned to show that the other reading *alibida* goes back (in Vat. 1577) to cent. x, is supported by many other MSS. including Digb., and ought not to be rejected as certainly wrong. Stephanus of Byzantium, quoting *Il.* ii. 857 *τηλόθεν ἔξ Ἀλύβης ὄθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη*, identifies Alybe with the Pontic tribe called Chaldaei or Chalaei by Strabo 549, a tribe who in the geographer's days worked iron, not silver, mines. Stephanus mentions in his usual manner the adjectives Ἀλυβεύς and Ἀλυβηίς, and cites from Euphoriion of Chalcis, the Greek poet translated by Cornelius Gallus and alluded to by Vergil in *Ecl.* vi, a hexameter *ὅστις μὲν κέλεβην Ἀλυβηίδα μόνος ἀπηύρα*, a line also quoted by the Scholiast on Theocritus ii. 2. This poem of Euphoriion's is called by Stephanus Ἀραί or Ποτηριοκλέπτῃς, by the Theocritean Schol. Ποτηριοκλέπτῃς. Meineke conjectured that the poem was a curse on a thief who had stolen an Alybean cup, perhaps of silver; Stephanus expressly explains Ἀλυβηίδα as = ἀργυρᾶν, διὰ τὰ μέταλλα, and Homer's ὄθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη may have survived, as from Nonnus we know that it has survived, to an age when Alybe had long ceased to yield silver. *Alibida* I should suppose to be formed from Ἀλυβεύς as Basilides from Basileus, the *a* marking the Roman form.

It is observable that the cup of Alybe is called by Euphoriion κέλεβη, and the same word is used by him in another verse preserved by Athenaeus (475 f.):

ἢ ποθεν ποταμῶν κέλεβη ἀποήφυσας ὕδωρ.

Now the best MSS. of *Copa* in v. 7 give *Sunt topia et kalibes* (or *calibes*) and this word, which can scarcely = καλύβαι, as the latest editor interprets it, is far more probably explicable of some form of cup or bowl, and may represent the Greek κέλεβη. For the change of *e* to *a* compare *callerans properans*, i. e. *celerans* (Götz, *Thes. Gloss. s. v.*).

May not this show in the author of *Copa* an acquaintance with Euphorion? And may not the verses of *Copa*,

Et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne

Lilia uimineis attulit in calathis,

be a further reminiscence of the line quoted also from Euphorion ἡ ποθεν ποταμῶν κέλεβη ἀποήφυσας ὕδωρ? Certainly *libata* would well express ἀποήφυσας, with an extra notion, perhaps, of drawing off *from the surface* of the river. Meanwhile lexicographers may be advised to look out for the word *celebes* as a Latin form. In Greek, besides Euphorion it was found, Athenaeus tells us, in Anacreon, Antimachus (from whose *Thebais* it is quoted in the form κελέβειον three times), Theocritus; and that it was a greatly discussed word is shown by the variety of explanations given by Silenus, Clitarchus, Pamphilus, Nicander of Colophon, and Dionysius ὁ λεπτός. Perhaps the closest approach to the idea of the word is to be found in Antimachus' triple use of it to express a vessel containing honey, a bowl rather than a cup.

I may add that if the suspicion of imitating Euphorion can be brought home to the poet of *Copa*, we may fairly include him in that remarkable phrase of Cicero's, so often and so dubiously applied by L. Müller and other critics to Catullus, the puzzling phrase *cantores Euphorionis*.

Returning to our glosses, *alibida* is explained in Digb. by *amice mi*, of which I can offer no interpretation. Vat. has no comment on vv. 25-31. But in 32 *gravidum* is glossed *compositum*, i. e., I suppose, laid up in repose, nearly = 'reposing'. Digb. has a more intelligible gloss *i. labore fatigatum*, and *strophio i. corona rosea*, where Vat. has only *serto*<sup>1</sup>. In 33 both give *formosum formose*, but Digb. with the additional remark *nomen pro aduerbio*; *decerpens* similarly is glossed by Vat. *osculans*, by Digb. *deosculans*. In 34 Vat. glosses *prisca* by *solita*, wrongly: *supercilia* by *turbulentia uultus*, not very intelligibly. On *A pereat* Digb. has two notes, the first marginal *Copa percipiens*

<sup>1</sup> The diminutive *strophium* is found in Plin. H. N. xxi. 3 applied to the slighter kind of garland (*tenuioribus sertis*).

*ipsius impotentiam* (violent love) *naturalem exclamat in ipsum dicens* Ha pereat: the second, *prisca i. supercilia ad modum priscorum*.

35 *cineri* is glossed in Digb. *i. usque ad cinerem i. usque ad mortem*. Vat. has the unintelligible *amasio tuo*. 36 *anne* is excellently explained by Digb. *Numquid*. 37 On *Pone merum et talos* Digb. has a strange marginal, *i. mittamus sortes cuius esset emere vinum*; on this hypothesis the dice-throws are supposed in some way to determine which of the parties present shall buy the wine. Such an interpretation is hardly probable, but is very likely to have been part of an old traditional explanation.

The same thing holds of the glosses in Digb. on *Copa* 5 *Quid iuuat aestiuo defessum puluere abesse*: (1) On *Quid iuuat. i. te alibida*, (2) on *abesse i. absentem numero esse uel abesse a nostro consorcio*. On which I remark (1) that the glossator adheres rigidly to *alibida* as the right reading in 25, and gives no hint of the other lection *calybida*, (2) that his explanation of *abesse*, 'to keep aloof' from the rest of the company, is plausible and very likely to be right.

After the last v. of *Copa* Digb. has a marginal *Publii maronis uirgilii Copa explicit. eiusdem est et non incipit*. This hexameter composition of 25 lines on the various uses of 'Yes' and 'No,' is preserved in not a few MSS. from cent. ix to xv. Montpellier 212 of cent. ix or x ascribes it to Priscian: but by far the greater number of MSS. agree with Digb. in attributing it to Vergil. Schenkl (p. 150 of his edition of Ausonius) shows that the early codices generally have a different title *NAI KAI OT Pythagoricon*, or *de Pythagoricis diffinitionibus* *NAI KAI OT*, and the former of them is printed by him as the true title of the poem. Both the Greek and Roman forms are familiar to us from St. Paul's use of them 2 Cor. i. 19 'Dei enim filius Iesus Christus non fuit Est et Non sed Est in illo fuit,' or to quote at length the original Greek ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν ναὶ καὶ οὐ. ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν ὑμῶν δι' ἡμῶν κηρυχθεὶς . . . οὐκ ἐγένετο ναὶ καὶ οὐ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γέγονεν.

On this poem Digb. has an ample and very useful set of notes; at the end of it follows the companion poem *Uir bonus*, the *U* of which is rubricated to mark a fresh start in the MS. Schenkl (p. 149) shows that this other poem of 26 hexameters has like *Est et Non* two distinct headings. In some MSS. it is called *De uiro bono pythagorice acroasis* (or according to Peiper *apophasis*); in the majority it is headed *de institutione uiri boni*, and is generally ascribed to Vergil. On this also Digb. has an ample and useful commentary, on which however my space does not permit me to enlarge. At the end of *Uir bonus* follows with a large rubricated *U Uer erat*, the first words of the beautiful verses on roses now generally printed among the poems of Ausonius<sup>1</sup>. The numerous glosses in Digb. prove the popularity of this perhaps African composition in the Middle Age. I shall quote some of them as specimens, and I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of my auditors a fine though inexact prose translation of the poem made by the lamented J. A. Symonds, and published in Mr. Fox's *Models and Exercises*, Oxford, 1891.

The heading in Digb. is *Incipit Egloga de rosis nascentibus*, which is identical with the heading of Schenkl's M, an eleventh cent. MS. belonging to the monastery of Mlk near Vienna, except that M adds *Vergilii* after *Egloga*. In some, mostly later MSS., it is called *Rosae*, in others *Rosetum*. Most of them ascribe it to Vergil, and that this was the prevailing belief of the Middle Age, and of the writer of Digb., is shown by v. 5, where above *Errabam* is written *ego Virgilius*. Nke in his erudite edition of the *Dirae* and *Lydia*, two other poems of the pseudo-Vergilian collection, criticizes the diction of the *Roses* as inconsistent with an early date, instancing the verbs *uegetare*, *anticipare*; and is severe on its descriptions as over-minute. Most critics, however, from Poliziano and Pierius to our own time agree to find in the *Roses* a poetical charm, akin to that of the *Peruigilium Veneris*, the date and authorship

<sup>1</sup> Schenkl's *Ausonius*, p. 243.

of which are equally uncertain. Lines and even whole passages of the *Roses* fix themselves in the memory :

Vidi Paestano gaudere rosaria cultu  
 Exoriente nouo rosida Lucifero.  
 Rara pruinosis canebat gemma frutectis  
 Ad primi radios interitura die.  
 Ambigeres raperetne rosis Aurora ruborem  
 An daret et flores tingeret orta dies.

And again :

Mirabar celerem fugitiua aetate rapinam  
 Et dum nascuntur consenuisse rosas.  
 Tot species tantosque ortus uariosque nouatus  
 Una dies aperit, conficit ipsa dies.

And :

Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,  
 Hanc rediens sero uespere uidit anum.

The description of the different stages (or *Chronography*, as it is called <sup>1</sup>) in the development of the roses (25-34) is quite in the modern manner, and far from agreeing with Näke's view, I hold that much of the exquisiteness of the poem lies in the very minuteness which he censures.

The glosses on *Rosae* are very numerous. I shall only mention the more remarkable among them.

3 *strictior i. frigidior.* 5 *quadrua i. in quattuor partes diuisa.* 6 *uegitare (sic) i. firmare.* 12 Digb. gives in the text of the poem *roscida*, in the margin *rosida*. This looks as if the marginal note, which preserves the ancient spelling of the word, had come from a different source. 14 *die i. primi diei et ponitur ablatiuo pro genitiuo.* 22 *muricis i. rubri coloris habitum i. colorem.* 23 *Momentum intererat i. spacium interuenerat.* 25 *galero i. coopertorio. Galerius est proprie coopertorium capitis. dicitur a galeron quod est corium quod rutilanti colore rubeat.* 28 *mucronem i. acumen.* 30 on *numerare* there is this marginal *numero dicitur de hoc nummus mi unde quidam ait numero nummus dedit nomen et a sui frequentacione uocabulum indidit.*

<sup>1</sup> It is so styled twice in Digb.

Exactly the opposite is stated in a gloss of *Thes. Gloss.* p. 750 nummi uel a nomine uel a numero dicti eo quod numerantur.

On 32 Digb. glosses *calathi* by *concauitatis sue*. 33 Digb. has a variant *tanto* for *toto*, the reading of the Bembinus and most MSS., but wrongly, as the contrast is between the rose in the full beauty of all its petals (*toto*) and the same rose when its petals have fallen away. *igne comarum* is well glossed by *splendore foliorum*. 34 contains a good grammatical note *Pallida s. facta*. 38 Digb. has *tecta* not *tacta*, and *tecta* is preferred by Schenkl, and is the reading of the Bembinus.

43 *quam longa i. in quantum tam longa i. in tantum*. 48 *succedens* is glossed by *ueniens post* and *prorogat* by *prolongat*.

Before speaking of the *Moretum*, it may be worth while to make a general remark on the Latin of these glosses. If, as a rule, they do not belong to the best Latin, they are also as a rule far removed from the debased Latin of the Middle Age. Thus to begin with the *Rosae*, *prolongare concauitas coopertorium* all exist in writers of the Imperial epoch. Coming to *Uir bonus*, the word *angulosus* is found several times in Pliny's *Natural History*. *Angularis* and *contemptibilis*, which are found in the glosses on *Est et Non*, fall under the same category: they are hardly good classical words, but they are not avoided by writers as considerable as Columella and Arnobius. In *Copa* the word *elevatio*, in the sense of exaltation, is unclassical; so is *gesticulare* for *gesticulari*: on the other hand, *flexibilis* is not avoided by Cicero. Hence, when we come to a debased diction like *maneries* = 'manner' or 'kind,' *Cop.* 1, we feel the incongruity, and are led to suspect that the greater and more correctly worded part of the glosses belongs to a much earlier period. This view is in complete agreement with what we know of undoubtedly old collections of glosses, e. g. the Berne scholia on Lucan; or again with the Latin of Chalcidius' Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, which contains many words stamped in the same mint as *coopertorium* or *gesticulare*.

Before leaving *Copa* I ought not to omit, in justice to one of the most eminent French scholars of the same era which produced Nicolas Heinsius, Commire<sup>1</sup>, Oudin, Markland, and Bentley, a remarkable confirmation of the view held by Huet, Bishop of Avranches, as to the meaning of *Copa* 4 *Ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos*. Speaking of the use of wind in music, Huet says (*Huetiana*, p. 286, ed. 1722): 'Témoin cet agréable poème de *Copa*, que son élégance a fait attribuer à Virgile, où l'on voit que la musicienne faisoit entrer le vent dans des chalumeaux par le moyen d'un soufflet qu'elle avait sous le bras et qu'elle faisoit agir.' He supposes the dancing-girl or *gesticularia* to hold pipes connected at the elbow with bellows, the air in which set in motion by the agitation of the girl's arms produced a musical sound. Now this or at least a very similar explanation is printed by Curcio, in his recently published edition, from MS. Vat. 1577. The word *calamos* is glossed there as follows: *tibias tum* (l. *cum*) *foliculo quas tenens in brachio premebat ut expromeret sonitum. sic ergo sonabat et saltabat*.

This is not the prevailing and more probable interpretation of the words *Ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos*, 'shaking out towards the elbow the noisy reeds of the crotalum,' *calamos* being thus the looser portion of the split cane of which the crotalum or castanet was composed, the snapping together of which two portions produced the sound that acted as accompaniment to the dancing. It is however obvious that Huet's interpretation has the support of antiquity: for the gloss in Vat. 1577 can hardly be medieval.

The last poem of the group of five contained in Digb. 100 is the *Moretum*. It describes in 123 hexameters the making of a salad. The subject was not new. Macrobius (*S.* iii. 18) quotes a very indifferent fragment of nine or ten verses by Sueius, if that is the right form of the name, in which

<sup>1</sup> Commire, a Jesuit of the early eighteenth century, has never been surpassed as a critic of patristic writings. His emendations of Orientius' *Commonitorium* are in the highest degree masterly.

a gardener is described as combining with other ingredients *nux persica* or *mollusca*.

Parthenius whose date either exceeded or coincided with the epoch of the elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus composed a *μυθωτός*, of which, however, no fragment is extant. It is noticeable that this, perhaps the most popular and widely known of the pseudo-Vergilian collection, is not included in the seven poems ascribed to Vergil by Servius and Donatus. But in the Middle Age it was very widely read, as is shown not only by the great number of MSS. in which it is found (amongst them the famous Trau codex which contains the *Cena Trimalchionis*), but by its inclusion among the sources of the *opus prosodiacum* of Mico the Deacon, a writer of the ninth century, s. v. DILATO<sup>1</sup> (Mic. 48 *Leuat opus palmisque suum dilatat in orbem*), and by a passage from it being imbedded in the prose treatise *de nominibus utensilium* of Alexander Neckam, in the following form, *postmodum a mola granum constringi dissolui et sinceratum foraminibus cribri eliquari*.

*Moret.* 40-43:

Transfert inde manu fusas in cribra farinas  
Et quatit: at remanent summo purgamina dorso.  
Subsidit *sincera* foraminibusque liquatur  
Emundata Ceres.

At what period the *Moretum* began to be attributed to Vergil is uncertain; but it is cited as his by Mico and ascribed to him by name in the Cod. Bembinus of cent. ix. It can hardly be by Vergil, but it may well belong to a period either coeval with him or only a little later. The view of Paldamus that the Simylus of the *Moretum* is the *Corycius senex* of G. iv. 127 is interesting, but incapable of proof. The greatest of modern German critics Lachmann, Lucr. p. 326, considers it *Vergilianis aetate par esse*: Haupt almost thought it might be by Vergil. Meineke accepted it as his (*Anal. Alexandr.* p. 258). Was it a translation from the Greek? We might be led to think so by a note in a codex Ambrosianus quoted by Voss *de*

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Traube in vol. iii. of *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, p. 284.

*poetis Graecis, 'Parthenius moretum scripsit in graeco, quem Virgilius imitatus est.'* Reitzenstein believes that a Greek (possibly Alexandrian) original was the common source of an epigram in the Greek Anthology (vii. 736) attributed to Leonidas of Tarentum and of our *Moretum*. For my own part I can see little trace either of paraphrase or translation; more particularly I fail to recognize in the epigram anything like close agreement with our poem. Far more probably may we believe the *Moretum* to be drawn from Callimachus' epyllion *Hecale*, the fragments of which contain the names of various herbs and condiments such as are minutely described at great length in the *Moretum*; just as reversely this list is almost beyond doubt the *sons* of the following hexameters from the poem *de Medicina* of Marcellus, ex-magister officiorum to the elder Theodosius:

Quod uiride hortus habet uel quod carnaria siccum  
 Allia serpyllumque herbas thymbramque salubrem  
 Brassicaque et raphanos et longis intuba fibris  
 Et mentam et sinapi coriandrum prototomumque  
 Erucam atque apium maluam betamque salubrem  
 Rutamque et nasturcum et amara absinthia misce  
 Puleiumque potens nec non et lene cuminum.

(Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* 910, 34-40.)

Here it is not only the herb-names *beta*, *malua*, *nasturtium*, *intuba*, *eruca*, *allium*, *apium*, *coriandrum* which are common to both writers; rather it is the unfrequent *carnaria*, 'meat-frames' (*Moret.* 56 *carnaria iuxta*) which betrays the imitation of the earlier by the later poet.

That the *Moretum* is of early date has also been argued from 76 *Grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum*, which seems to imply that lettuce was then eaten at the end of the meal as a digestive to prevent rich foods rising on the stomach, as our own poet Cowper translates it, 'Salubrious sequel of a sumptuous feast'. In the later age of the Epigrammatist Martial it was eaten at the *beginning* of the dinner (Mart. xiii. 14):

Cludere quae cenas lactuca solebat auorum  
 Dic mihi cur nostras incohat illa dapes?

Two generations before Martial would bring us to a time not far removed from Vergil; but it is not certain that the writer of the *Moretum* meant anything more than that lettuce acted as a digestive at whatever period of the repast it was taken, just as Pliny (quoted by Näke, *Hecale* p. 139) speaking generally of the qualities of this vegetable says *natura omnibus* (every species of *lactuca*) *refrigeratrix et ideo aestate gratae stomacho fastidium auferunt cibique appetentiam faciunt*.

Näke admirably characterized the style of the poem thus: 'Compositio simplex, plana; ad finem omnia spectantia; nulla digressio, nulla in rebus secundariis mora: stilus non ut in Culice et Ciri durior interdum, et qui maiorem aliquando cultum atque elegantiam exspectari iubeat, sed elaboratus et consummatus, at a Vergiliano tamen, qualis est in *Bucolicis* et *Georgicis*, diuersus'. Ribbeck aptly calls it a genre-painting in the Dutch style. Its charm lies a good deal in its naturalesque description of garden-plants and country associations; but the poet can rise beyond them and perhaps is nowhere more happy than in his portraiture of the negress Cybale or Scybale.

Interdum clamat Scybalen. erat unica custos  
Afra genus, tota patriam testante figura,  
Torta comam labroque tumens et fusca colore,  
Pectore lata, iacens mammis, compressior aluo,  
Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta.

The Digby glosses on *Moretum* are not of much value, and seem less ancient than those in Vat. 1574. At any rate no sufficient conspectus of them can be given here: nor would such a conspectus be of much service without a parallel exhibition of the Vat. glosses, which only now and then seem to be identical.

It will not, however, be without profit to speak a little of the general problem of criticism in the *Moretum*, a problem here of unusual difficulty, the MSS. differing considerably.

As in all the other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana which it contains, the *Bembinus* (Vat. 3252) is the MS. to

4  
 which our first appeal must be made. The writing of this famous codex (at the outset of cent. xvi in the possession of Card. Pietro Bembo) is a Carolinian minuscule of an early type, and some experts consider it to belong to the ninth century. A MS. in the Bodleian, Auct. F. 1. 17, closely reproduces its readings, and must have been copied from it or perhaps from some common source. Nearest in value, and not much removed in time, are three MSS. assigned to cent. xi, one in the monastery of MÖlk near Vienna, the other two in the National Library of Paris, namely the Stabulensian fragment, so important in *Aetna*, and Paris 16,236. The Stabulensian codex is imperfect; Paris 16,236 is complete. The same rich library contains numerous other copies of our poem. I may mention the celebrated *codex Traguriensis* (Paris 7989), a MS. discovered in the first half of the seventeenth century at Trau in Dalmatia, and containing the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius. As every reader of Bücheler's Petronius is aware, this MS. was written in cent. xv. It contains besides the Petronius portions and the *Moretum*, Catullus and Propertius. Of the same or an approximate date are two Bodleian MSS., our Digby 100 and Add. A. 163, the latter at times very hard to read from the writing being faded, but yet containing some notable variants.

The first passage of which I shall speak is *Moret.* 13.

This line appears in two quite distinct forms. Bembo gives—

Tandem concepto sed lux fulgore recedit,  
 which a later hand has altered into *tenebre fulgore recedunt*,  
 and this latter is found also in the early MS. Vat. 2759,  
 the Traguriensis, and some others. But not only does the  
 Bodl. Auct. F. 1. 17 (F), which closely reproduces Bembo,  
 here also agree with it, but the same reading is found in  
 MÖlk, the fragm. Stab., and Paris 16,236. We may therefore  
 conclude with some security, that this is the more authori-  
 tative form in which the verse is preserved. But as it  
 stands, it is not intelligible, nor can Scaliger's emendation

Tandem concepto se lux fulgore receptit

be admitted, *concepto* and *recepit* being impossible in so finished a composition. Bücheler seems to have rightly conjectured *sed uix* for *sed lux*, 'at last when it had, though with difficulty, burst into a bright flame, Simylus withdrew.' A

15. Having lighted his lamp Simylus shields it from the air and proceeds to open the door of a room in which corn was stored. The opening of this door stands in most MSS. as follows:

Et reserat claus(a)e qu(a)e peruidet ostia clauis. †

P (16,236) however gives *qua*, some of the later MSS. (among them Add. A. 163) *praeuidet*. Were it not for the unanimity with which the earliest sources give *clausae*, not *clausa*, which I have found in Harl. 2695, I should be inclined to suggest *plausa* = 'cum sonitu immissa,' and *clauē*, rather than *clauī*, as palaeographically nearer to *clauis*. Then translate, 'and striking the key smartly (*plausa clauē*) opens the well scrutinized door', or, with P's *qua*, 'striking in the key noisily at the point where he sees through the door'.

As it is, Scaliger's correction *casulae* is plausible. Only plausible however; for the two other passages of the *Moretum* where the word occurs, 61 Hortus erat iunctus *casulae* 67 Si quando uacuum casula pluuiæque tenebant, seem to indicate a tenement in the form of a hut or hovel in which the peasant usually lived with his female associate Scybale, and this would be distinct from the room in which the grain was stored. Is it possible that the word *clausa* was occasionally used = *crypta*, such as Vitruvius vi. 8 describes *in aedibus cryptae horrea apothecae ceteraque quae ad fructus seruandos magis quam ad elegantiae decorem possunt esse*? *Clausā* would fall under the category of nouns formed from participles feminine, like *collecta*, a contribution, used by Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. /u

23 Peruerit cauda silices gremiumque molarum.

So Bemb., Molk, Stab. and P.

There are two variants: (1) *Preuerit*, which is given by Harl. 2534 (which closely agrees with Par. 8207, where

*preuertit* is a mere corruption of *preuerit*); (2) *geminumque molarem*.

*Praeuerrere* occurs in Ovid, *Am.* iii. 13. 24 *Qua uentura deast, iuuenes timidaeque puellae Praeuerrunt latas ueste iacente uias*, 'sweep in advance of the goddess'. Here the preposition has its significance; not so in the verse of *Moretum*. On the other hand *peruerit* well expresses the care the peasant takes to sweep over the whole interior surface of his mill.

As for *geminumque molarem* it has no support from any of the earliest MSS. Its reception in many editions of the poem is due to the influence of Heyne, who introduced it as a conjecture.

36. At the end of the description of the negress Scybale some MSS. add

*Continuis rimis calcanea scissa rigebant.*

Here it is unusually necessary to state with precision the facts presented by MSS. Bemb. omits the verse in the text of the poem, but in the margin below adds it in a later writing and with the form *scalcanea*. It is also omitted in F, M $\ddot{o}$ lk, P, Paris 8207=Harl. 2534, Paris 8093, 8074, 3762, in the Stabulensian fragment, and Digby 100, and the two early codices now at Munich collated by Ludwig Ian for Philip Wagner's edition of Heyne's Vergil, the Tegermseensis (xi) and Weyhenstephanianus (xiii).

On the other hand it is found in Vat. 2759 perhaps of cent. x, in the *Traguriensis*, in Bodl. Add. A. 163, and in Harl. 2695 with *fissa* for *scissa*, a correction made independently in modern times by Wakefield. The case is thus to some extent complicated. It is not true to say that *all* early MSS. ignore the verse; for at least one MS. of the tenth century has it, and it belongs therefore to a time which dates before the Middle Age properly so called. Nor can it be denied that the description of the negress, if it ended with *spatiosa prodiga planta*, ended rather abruptly. An extra verse seems almost required. Nay, the argument which some will think final, the occurrence of a dactyl with the last syllable short before *scissa*, though practic-

ally always observed by Vergil, and therefore not likely to have been ignored by an imitator, is not wholly conclusive, as the writer need not be a conscious imitator in every detail of Vergil's diction and prosody, and, which is more to the point, the rule that a short vowel cannot precede *sc*, *sp*, *st* is open to many exceptions, and even in the earlier Augustan age Propertius admits a short vowel before *sc*, *sp*, *st* no less than six times, *brachia spectavi*, *iam bene spondebant*, *tu caue spinosi*, *Consuluitque striges*, *nunc ubi Scipiadae*, *circumdata Scylla figura*.

If none of these arguments is sufficient by itself to prove the verse spurious, it is nevertheless open to attack on other grounds. The word *calcaneum* with its other forms *calcaneus*, *calcanea*, though not unfrequent in glossaries, e. g. *calcaneum* πῑρῑνη, *calcania* πῑρῑναι, and again *calcaneae* (fem. plur.), is carefully avoided by early and correct writers of Latin. Forcellini has no instance of it except the v. of the *Moretum* till the *Historia Augusta*, where Heliogabalus (Vit. Heliogab. 20) is said to have often eaten *ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum*, and we may perhaps infer that Apicius preferred this word as more direct to the more ordinary *calces*. Rönsch (*Collectanea Philologa*, pp. 178, 284) quotes *calcaneum* six times from the short treatise known as *Apulei Physiognomonica*, which Valentine Rose, *Anecdota Graeco-Latina* pp. 80 sqq., ascribes to the end of the second century A.D. and which can hardly be later than the middle of the third. At that time it would seem to have been in common use. This does not prove much for its adoption in the *Moretum*; and the combination of a bad word with an additional fault in prosody adds to the difficulty. It remains to suppose either (1) that the verse does not come down to us in its original form, and only represents a *rifacimento* of that original, or (2) that it was added at a time considerably later than the composition of the poem as a whole, when the nicer sense of prosody, no less than of correct diction had become obscured. I do not think anything can be argued from the variants which some of the MSS. present, *riuvis* for *rimis* (grotesquely explained

in a late MS. by *micturis*) or *fissa* for *scissa*, which I have found in Harl. 2695; *riis* seems a mere error of transcription, *fissa* a correction made by some one with a more than average feeling for Vergilian rules of scansion.

Any attempt to determine the date of the v. must be hazardous; but it may fairly belong to a time when *sinceris*, neuter *sincere*, could seem possible in a poem so careful as the *Moretum*; this occurs even in the Bembine, *Mor.* 42 *subsedit scincere foraminibusque liquatur* Emendata ceres, as well as in other unimpeachably early sources; it points to a period when the language was declining and adjectives like *sinceris*, *austeris*, *infirmis* (Rönsch, u. s., p. 9) were taking the place of the classical forms in -us.

 The case is different in the verse which in many editions is printed after 74 *Hic etiam nocuum capiti gelidumque papauer*. Here the MSS. are so strongly against genuineness as to be decisive. Only one MS. of an early date, Vat. 1576, is known to contain it. I have found it in four later codices, one of which is the *Traguriensis*. I hold it to be undoubtedly spurious. The word *nocuus* is quite unclassical.

On the other hand there is every reason to accept as genuine the verse which follows *Grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum*, though we can only feel sure of the end of it *crescitque in acumina* (or *acumine*) *radix*. I must again state the MS. facts, which have an important bearing on the question of the beginning.

The Bembinus with its congener F give *quae crescit in acumine radit*. The Stabulensian fragment omits all but the first letter C, leaving a space for the whole of the rest of the line.

Mölk and Paris 16,326 have *crescitque in acumina radix*.

The *Traguriensis* gives the whole line thus: *Plurima crescit ibi surgitque in acumina radix*, and so Harl. 2695, with a Catania MS. which Prof. Sabbadini collated for me, and doubtless many other fifteenth century MSS.

This looks like an interpolation: for the united testimony of the Stabulensian fragment, Mölk, and Paris 16325

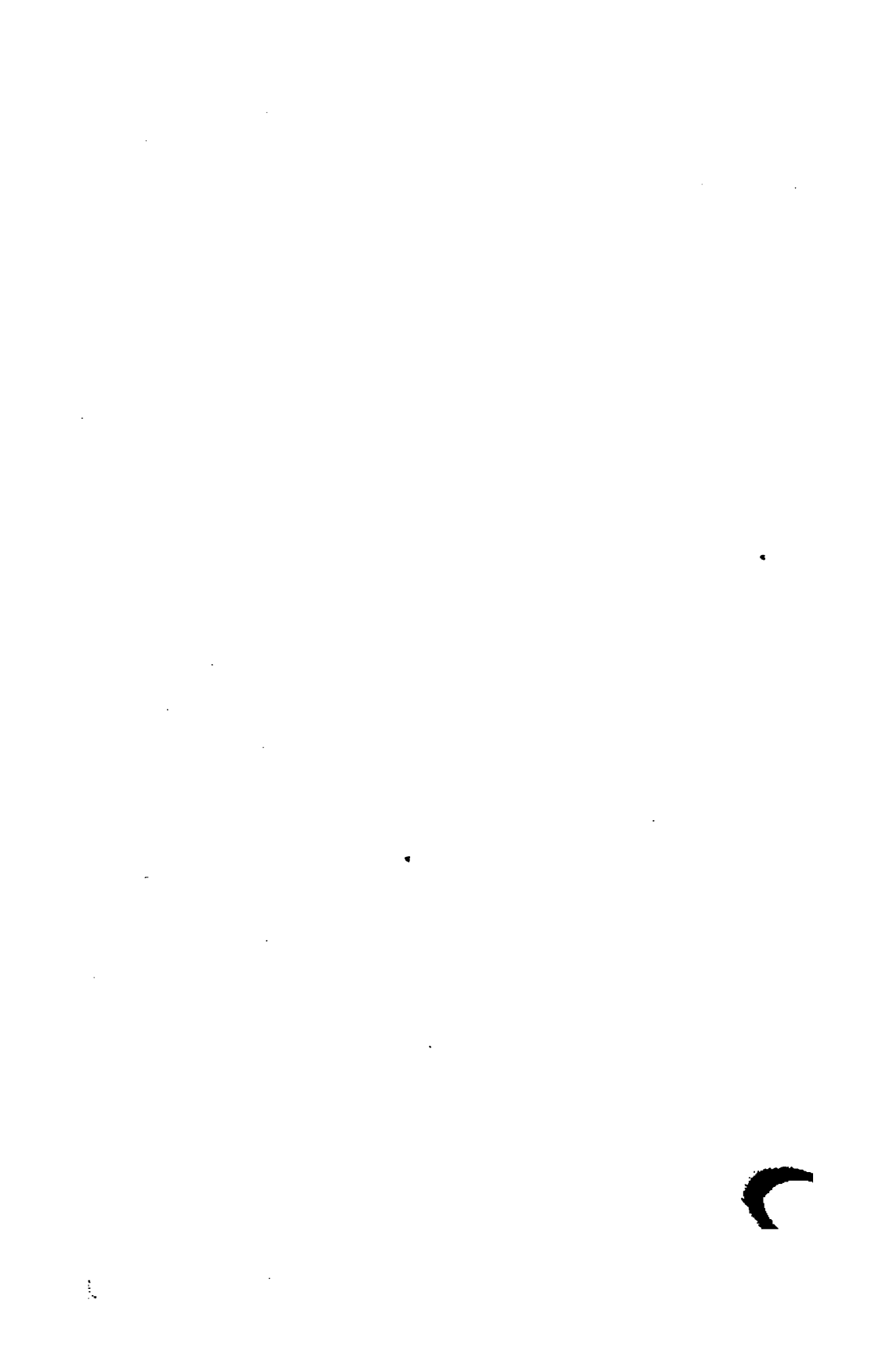
favours the view that the first word of the genuine remains of the v. began with *C*, and two of them present the word as *crescitque*. Hence *surgitque* cannot be right, the more so that Bemb. has *quae crescit*, seemingly a mere inversion of *crescitque*. If then the ending was *crescitque in acumina* (or *-ne*) *radix*, can we trace the beginning? I think we may. A Bodleian codex, Add. A. 163, in which the poem is preserved in an often illegible form, has this line in very faded writing as follows:—

P l ima que sic ibi surgitque in acumina radix.

May we not conjecture that the faded letters are the remains of *Plurimaque exit ibi* ? It will be said; but what of *surgitque* which this MS. gives, not *crescitque*? I reply, we have a case of conflation of readings. The MS. which the scribe of Add. A. 163 copied preserved the first half right, but gave the second half with the interpolation *surgitque* instead of *crescitque*. Yet I would not deny that there is another explanation: the faded letters *may* represent *Plurima crescit ibi surgitque in a. radix*, a reading which, as I said, is found in the *Traguriensis* and the MS. of *Catania*, as well as in Harl. 2695, but which on the evidence of the earlier codices must be pronounced an interpolation.

It will not, I believe, be denied that the verse as I have restored it, *Plurimaque exit ibi crescitque in acumina radix*, is in harmony with the usually choice diction of the *Moretum*, and from the strong similarity of sound in *exit crescit*, supplies a possible reason for its corruption.









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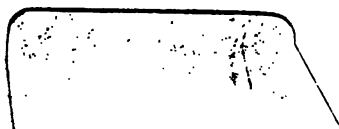
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